1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

857 Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children
513 from about 6 years of age onward average about 8 hours of sleep each night. Fires are occasionally kept burning late into the night when mosquitoes are troublesome.

514 Men micturate in a standing position; women squat on the heels or stand with knees bent. Both sexes defecate in a position squatting on both heels.

412 Cutting habits vary according to the instrument employed. In general, a knife is moved away from the body, a native cutting or scraping instrument toward the body. Adzing is, of course, toward the body.

413 Heavy weights, such as canoes, are lifted from the ground with the arms in front of the body and carried just clear of the ground. A house roof is carried on the shoulders of a number of men who get inside the roof while it is on the ground and hoist it onto their shoulders. A few coconuts are
482 carried in the hands, with or without a basket; a large number are balanced on the shoulder. Many coconuts are carried on a rough carrying pole, weighted at both ends and balanced at its middle point on the shoulder. The right shoulder is generally preferred. Women generally carry weights balanced on the head, using a pad made of a bunch of leaves placed between the head and the burden.

481 Climbing coconut trees and coconut husking are described on page 86.
515 Swimming is naturally acquired behavior and is not taught to children. Pukapukans are not great swimmers or divers, but use the sea mostly for bathing,
526 when they run or wade from the beach and then suddenly duck. Children
224 are in the water a great deal; they play at water splashing, surface diving, and underwater swimming games. Adults rarely play swimming games. In diving for *Tridacna* shellfish, adults dive from the surface by elevating the buttocks and depressing the head.

516 Casual observation indicates that left-handedness (*lima mayui*) is common in both children and adults. This was observed in adults in the use of implements and in the handling of darts in games, in children when dancing.

The toes are used extensively for picking up objects from the ground and for holding objects when both hands are engaged and when purchase is required.

561 Both men and women pole and paddle canoes today. The individual poles a canoe sitting, standing on the floor of the canoe, or standing with one foot on each gunwale. Paddling is done on either side of the canoe with equal ease. The paddle is grasped with both hands, fingers pointing to the front, thumbs to the rear. It is unusual for a canoe crew to sing or chant in rhythm
[461] to the paddling. The paddle is plunged vertically into the water and the stroke is fore and aft. Two types of strokes are used: *alo atu pele* is a long, even, powerful stroke with the full stretch and strength of arms and shoulders, dipping the paddle blade deep into the water, and used for long distances when consistent power is required; *alo tuinga* is a short, quick, shallow stroke,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

462 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even
182 going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake
626 suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his
577 wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own taro foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 The heavy work of taro bed excavation was probably always joint labor.
241 In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time.
709 Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private taro beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young
587 and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of taro preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every
534 man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata tuoivo*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

221 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; taro beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the taro than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

according to the quality of *takitaka* desired. An excellent food reserve against hard times, households formerly had one or several houses stored exclusively with *takitaka* nuts.

The various parts of the coconut are named as follows:

Mata: eyes of the nut.
Mulimuli: base of nut opposite eyes.
Puln: husk.
Puln kawa: husk fibers.
Kiko: endosperm when soft.
Ipiipi: endosperm when hard.
Ngaipu, plural na ngaipu: endocarp (shell).
Uto: absorbing organ.
Yua: coconut liquid.
Kanava: fatty deposit on surface of flesh of yakali nut.
Tuatua: brown sheath separating flesh from shell in yakali nut.
Uto wai kawa: unhusked nut at uto stage.
Uto: husked nut at uto stage.
Kili uto: sheath between hard endosperm and absorbing organ.
Mata uto: sprouting stem, radicle and roots together.

Harvesting

The three articles used in harvesting and husking coconuts—climbing bandage, husking stick, and carrying pole—are all described elsewhere (pp. 123, 146).

In coconut-tree climbing, the right arm is passed around the trunk of the tree and holds the body close to the trunk. The flexed left arm grips the near surface of the trunk and is used to lever the body as the climber progresses up the tree with a series of short springs. Alternatively, both arms are passed around the trunk of the tree, but the former method is preferred where speed is desired.

Throwing nuts down from the tree is termed *maka te niu ki lalo, totoli te niu ki lalo,* or *takuili te niu.* Nuts are usually harvested by young boys, occasionally by girls. The nut is grasped with the hand from below and twisted off the stem. As the nut is released, the hand is given a rotary twist (*kui*) so that the nut spins around as it falls and drops in a vertical line. It hits the ground on the base of the nut and does not split open with the impact. The spin also prevents the nut from rolling when it hits the ground and so becoming lost in the undergrowth.

Whenever a special gift of nuts is to be made, the nuts are lowered in a cluster from the tree, so that none will be bruised. They are given to the recipient unhusked. Besides receiving a gift with this special mark of status, the recipient receives also the edible husk of the nut.

From 20 to 40 nuts are usually harvested at one time. The husking stick (*koyo*) is next set up.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives
854 most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given
853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the
854 child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first
[857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

851 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there
[152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 [1934-5]1938 Pukapukans

871 868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 462 857 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

Thus, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akaleino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 857 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tuteiage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngahau hino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *iwinaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yeyulu-wulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakawya*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yaa;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *papapapa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or any hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *tuai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *tuai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye tuai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye aalimili* (one who does not select people).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

524 The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoa, brought back to Pukapuka some
171 games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the
526 eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

857 Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of
572 children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

536 Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances
527 of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

526 *Kio*, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*ruke*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*toke*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to to uis*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *kio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *kio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *kio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wakatoa nana (hide-and-seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka uiu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakayuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua moana (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*uvuna*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Leweke (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

Tolotolounga, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*vulevulo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *tahapa* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngalo, hui!" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Zones

The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*asau*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan:

837/333 type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

539

1

Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono,
ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono
Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu,
katia i loto o te ulu ngayu
Ko wakaukuuuku te muli o te kiole, ko
wakaukuuuku te muli o te kiole
Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi toi
toko toko to
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta
Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta

Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat]
(He) throws (her), bites her in the *ngayu* grove [repeat]
The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat]
[Nonsense syllables]

2

Ko yaele mai la koe, ko yaele mai la koe
Ko lomia e Tama, lomia e Tama ke tu te
mmavaka

You walk there, you walk there
You are pressed down by Tama, pressed down by Tama till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect

3

Moe lai i a Te Yei ia te makemakenga
o Matawea
Wati ai te titi o Tolota
Wati ai te titi o Tolota

Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea
Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]

4

Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakangi-
angi ki te matangi
Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakangi-
angi ki te matangi
Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia
Wati te tuki

We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat]

We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting
The pounder is broken.

5

E te manu e nimonimo ia
E te manu e nimonimo ia
Wakakaukau atu ia te wale
Wakakaukau atu ia te wale
Matiatia matiatia mati mai
Mati mai ki konei e

Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat]
They gather round the houses [repeat]
They are caught, they are caught
Caught here.

6

E te manu e welele mai la
E te manu e welele mai la
Tau i te puapua ia wanga
Tau i te puapua ia wanga

Oh the bird is flying there [repeat]
It lights on the *puapua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]

7

Lumakina i te vai o Malele
Ke tu te mea pe te ritolo
Yioyio mai ke liko ai te ngongo

Dive down into the pool of Malele
Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost
Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.

8

Kaiolo atu la matou e
Ki Te Manu koa wengke

We look up
At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising

Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili

Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan

Ililli matou, ililli matou
Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili;
Ililli matou, ililli matou

We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Ko te kau, ko te kau o Mani	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te ylku, ko te ylku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te ylku, ko te ylku o te kiole	[repeat]
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	Like pulaka cooking, like pulaka cooking
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	[repeat]
E Lasa te tlmu e angi mai	Oh Lasa, your wind blows here
E Lasa te tlmu e angi mai	[repeat]
Ka ga aau te vaka ki Kalauuua	Your canoe will be carried to Kalauuua
E, ka ga aau te vaka ki Mata Kakikalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kakikalo
E, ka tau la kau ki nuna ma te kalo ma te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their taro
Ka tae la kau ki Kalauuua, ka tae la kau ki Kalauuua.	You will reach Kalauuua, you will reach Kalauuua.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

Pakoi (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is more associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki mali ma. A group of adults and other children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to provoke another while another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

Kiokiki is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kiokiki*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and links his thumb as the others sing "*yupa*" (*kiki*). When all the hands are removed from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, kicking his leg too.

Whakangi again is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. There are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *uto pupa*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *uto tuakiki*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *amuna*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *tuakiki*, in which the player hops on one foot.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *uhtoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wahatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*hulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tuua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*hoi*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*to te ula*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palehiwali*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 30 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 yards, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *nonu* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practise dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

Running races (*wahele*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tukihi*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vaevae* (man of swift feet).

Wrestling

Wrestling (*pepeke*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[1] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 instruction, is for the average child an uneventful and straight-forward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relatives most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[1] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to personal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[9]

[9] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and plane of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-33; James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, 1937), pp. 232-33.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of older children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been greatly eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
868 new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become sin-
857 gle-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
867 containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of discipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age,
858 girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

841 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him. She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be interpreted in terms of a deep-seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unwilling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stands at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

877 child here!" His own skate of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by
169 fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to
any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate
imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-
frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualiza-
tions be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the
Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest
now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of
parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion
will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to
ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized
in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict
and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the
Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly,
all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mos-
quito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a
rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
834 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to
conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or
else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is cer-
tain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and
are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as
521 neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
844 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her
up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of chil-
dren with this phase of behavior is revealed in their conversations or activities is striking
in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-outrigger canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Chani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Chani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Chani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (2:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1938
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
● 857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.